

Young Spartacus

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Chinese Army Occupies Fukien Province

Post-Mao Regime Faces Time of Troubles

For Workers Political Revolution To Oust the Stalinist Bureaucracy!

November 28—During the past month in People's China, as the Peking regime continued its campaign to discredit the so-called "gang of four" purged in early October, the internecine feuding within the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy has mushroomed, erupting in violent clashes throughout at least one region.

According to Chinese radio broadcasts, Chairman Hua Kuo-feng earlier this month ordered the People's Liberation Army to occupy "various cities, rural villages, factories, mines, government offices, schools and neighborhoods" in the southeast coastal province of Fukien in order to "positively assist local party committees in their work" (quoted in *New York Times*, 26 November).

Other Chinese reports in recent days indicate that the military had been sent to occupy Fukien and that Hua Kuo-feng was also rushed to the scene after armed clashes between rival elements in the bureaucracy broke out on October 27. The extent of the chaos in the region was revealed by the same report, which stated that army officers had "personally led office employees" to ensure that they performed their jobs.

To date, the situation prevailing in Fukien still appears murky. In the past year, however, there reportedly have been riots and civil disorders in the province, apparently fueled by long-standing antagonisms between local officials who had been purged or demoted during the Cultural Revolution, and those who had risen in the apparatus in that period at their expense. On more than one occasion Fukien provincial party head Liao Chih-kao—a close associate of

Teng Hsiao-ping who was purged as a "capitalist roader" during the Cultural Revolution and, like Teng, restored to office in 1973—reportedly has been physically attacked in public; he now spends most of his time either away from the province or else safely sequestered in his offices.

Nevertheless, the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy claims that the clashes in Fukien are a continuation of the so-called "two-line struggle" which climaxed early last month in the purge of the "gang of four": Chiang Ching, Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan. According to a Fukien radio broadcast, the "gang of four" had incited the recent violence by "poking their nose into Fukien and instructing a very small number of people to practice revisionism and splittism, to engage in conspiracies and stir up bourgeois factionalism" (quoted in *New York Times*, 26 November).

Charges Galore

It is certainly not impossible that among the bureaucratic antagonists involved in the Fukien fighting are political supporters of Chiang, Chang, Wang and Yao. But these days such sensational accusations—that the "gang of four" is responsible for every evil and calamity in China (except for the recent earthquakes)—are churned out daily by the ruling Stalinist bureaucracy in Peking.

To the extent that the official charges against the "gang of four" and their anonymous allies are at all specific, they are almost invariably limited to accusations of personal criminality and individual bureaucratic excesses, both egregious and trivial. Thus, in addition to allegedly "poking their nose into Fukien," other charges recently leveled against Chiang and her cohorts include the following:

- The "gang of four" attempted to "disrupt production" by insisting that trains should run *on time* and that safety regulations should be observed. Meanwhile, they "sabotaged production," for example, by instructing certain "class enemies" working in the textile industry to sew one button of the wrong color on each blouse produced for export.



PLA soldiers mobilized to support Hua.



Recent wall poster in China: the "gang of four" are today denounced as "capitalist roaders."

- Chiang Ching led her "gang" in "persecuting Mao" and later, when the Chairman lay dying, she had to be coaxed away from a poker game to go to his bedside.
- While visiting an army unit on Hainan Island in the South China Sea, Chiang Ching ordered an artillery battery to halt a firing drill so that she could collect sea shells on the beach.
- When not "weaving plots in secret dungeons," the "gang of four" frequently met at Chiang Ching's "great mansion" within the Forbidden City to view forbidden "yellow movies" (surreptitiously obtained from Hong Kong and Hollywood) and to "gorge themselves with food and drink."
- On another occasion Chiang Ching intervened to forbid the screening of a film, "The Pioneers," which had been made on the orders of the late Chou En-lai.
- Chiang Ching demanded that state libraries send her copies of "ancient books on emperors, kings, ministers and generals" so she could "learn how to become emperor."
- On a visit to a state farm in 1970 Chiang Ching "was not satisfied with the bed and bedsheets after they had been changed several times." She also demanded that "motor vehicles delivering things to her should switch off the engine one kilometer away and then be pushed by more than 20 strong militiamen."

And these are the "crimes" which allegedly threatened a nation of 800,000,000 with the

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EDITORIAL NOTES

It's Not Nice To Fool Mother Nature

Trofim D. Lysenko, former high priest of pseudo-scientific agronomy in the Soviet Union, died in obscurity on November 20. Out of power since the demise of Khrushchev in 1964, Lysenko epitomized the disastrous utopian-adventurist side of Stalinist bureaucratic economic planning.

T.D. Lysenko rose to prominence during the first Russian Five Year Plan, when Stalin attempted to compensate for his previous "socialism-at-a-snail's-pace" policy through massive forced collectivization of agriculture and break-neck industrialization. Lysenko claimed to be able to greatly increase crop yields through schemes which allegedly would turn winter wheat into spring wheat and grow sugar beets in the blistering summer heat of Soviet Central Asia.

Denying the existence of genes, Lysenko asserted that "proper upbringing" could transform plants in any desired direction and that such environmentally acquired characteristics would then be transmitted to future generations. Although he couched his doctrinal quackery in the language of dialectical materialism, Lysenko had more in common with the outmoded, pre-Darwinian natural scientist J.B. Lamarck, who originated the theory of inheritance of acquired characteristics.

Justifying its privileged rule through the reactionary-utopian myth of "socialism in one country" (which denies the need to extend the revolution internationally), the Russian Stalinist bureaucracy was favorably disposed to believe a "theory" which promised results that would enable them to meet the adventurist economic goals which had been set—for example, fulfilling the first Five Year Plan in only four years. In the bureaucratically ruled Soviet Union of Stalin, Lysenko and other kindred miracle mongers, who claimed to be able to achieve fantastic increases in output without heavy capital investment, could come to dictate scientific doctrine because they shared with the Stalinist bureaucracy the same idealist-voluntarist methodology. Thus, Lysenko once declared, "if you want to obtain a definite result, you will obtain it" (quoted in Loren R. Graham, *Science and Philosophy in the Soviet Union*).

Having obtained Stalin's patronage, Lysenko and his followers came to dominate Russian biological sciences by the late 1930's. During the Stalinist purges Lysenko and his cohorts denounced orthodox geneticists and agrobiologists as "Trotskyite bandits" and Nazi agents. Hundreds of scientists were purged and jailed, including the brilliant N.I. Vavilov, who perished in prison along with geneticists I.I. Agol and S.G. Levit.

But the "splitting and wrecking" of the Soviet economy was not the work of "Trotskyites," but the result of the disastrous schemes of Lysenko and his henchmen. It was the adventurist projects of Lysenko—such as planting winter wheat in unplowed Siberian fields during the summer—which severely threatened his authority in the immediate post-World War II period.

In 1948, however, Lysenko again secured Stalin's favor and proceeded to launch a purge of his scientific opponents, who were indiscriminately branded "agents of Western imperialism" and practitioners of "bourgeois biology." In this period many scientific textbooks were destroyed, and genetics was banned as a science in the USSR.

Meanwhile, Lysenko hatched even more bizarre schemes. Dutifully responding to Stalin's exhortations about "transforming nature," Lysenko attempted to grow forest belts in geographic regions where afforestation was clearly impossible. At the same time, Lysenko propounded his "theory" of "species transformation," which asserted that rye could be converted into wheat, pine trees into firs, cabbages into rutabagas, and even warblers into cuckoos!

With the death of Stalin in 1953 and the ensuing "de-Stalinization," Lysenko came under increasing criticism, and by 1955 he appeared to be totally discredited; for the next period he was reduced—quite ironically—to lecturing farmers on the proper utilization of manure.



Yet Lysenko found the opportunity for a comeback after 1958, when Khrushchev attempted to switch to corn farming overnight and to extend wheat farming to the "virgin lands" of Siberia. Once again Lysenko came to dominate the agricultural sciences by offering the Stalinist bureaucracy ambitious schemes which would supposedly multiply agricultural production. One such disastrous gimmick called for expanding fertilizer production by mixing superphosphates with lime—which resulted in the decomposition of the expensive superphosphate. During this period Lysenko also managed to seriously set back the Soviet dairy industry by his crackpot cattle-breeding schemes, which led to the destruction of entire breeds of pedigreed cattle.

Lysenko slipped into obscurity only after the downfall of Khrushchev, who was purged in part for his disastrous agricultural policies. Lysenko left behind him the decimation of a generation of the finest Soviet geneticists and agronomists, the stunting of crucially necessary biological research and the wholesale destruction of agricultural resources at a time when the Russian masses endured tremendous economic privations.

Lysenkoism and bureaucratic adventurism by no means have been confined to the Soviet Union under Stalin and Khrushchev. Even more disastrous economic adventures have been launched by the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy, reflecting the greater contradiction between their great-power aspirations and the enormous material backwardness of the Chinese deformed workers state.

The Mao-inspired "Great Leap Forward" of 1958-1961 was the most prolonged and costly exercise in bureaucratic utopian voluntarism

ever undertaken. Following the failure of the Russian-modeled five-year plan in 1957, the Maoist bureaucracy attempted to bypass the necessary expansion of heavy industry through the creation of massive state farms ("communes"), ambitious water-conservation projects and primitive rural industry (the "backyard steel furnaces").

Mobilized with promises of "full communism" within fifteen years, the Chinese working masses were put under enormous pressure to produce, and the demands on scientists and technicians were commensurate. As a result of "thought reform" and "putting politics in command," Chinese scientists claimed during the "Great Leap" that the myriad low-efficiency/poor-quality "backyard steel furnaces" actually outperformed the most modern blast furnaces. (Actually, the steel produced was of such inferior quality that very little was usable.) Likewise, mining engineers promised to boost output to levels more than ten times that of record levels in the West.

In the midst of this madness Chinese doctors announced that they would cure cancer within three years. Similarly, a forestry official, following Lysenko's attempts to "transform nature," proclaimed that millions of acres of barren deserts and mountain slopes would soon be covered with forests, adding "greater miracles can be expected in the future" (*Peking People's Daily*, 10 April 1960).

The bureaucratic utopianism of the "Great Leap," exacerbated by bad weather and the abrupt withdrawal of Russian aid, led to the greatest economic collapse in the history of the Sino-Soviet states. With the abandonment of the "Great Leap Forward" in 1961, Mao was saddled with responsibility for the disaster and was edged out of the central party leadership. Although the most utopian projects were swiftly abandoned, the Maoist variant of Lysenkoism continued, "blossoming" again during the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution."

It has been held by many anti-Marxists that the suppression of genetics in the Soviet Union under

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Up Against The Wall Posters



"Slice Chiang Ching into 10,000 pieces!" "Deep-fry Yao Wen-yuan!"

Such are the typical verdicts emblazoned on "big-character" wall posters across China these days, as the ruling Stalinist bureaucracy continues to escalate its campaign of obfuscation and vilification against the "gang of four"—Chiang Ching, Yao Wen-yuan, Wang Hung-wen and Chang Chun-chiao. With consummate demagoguery the Peking regime portrays as so-called "mass democracy" the bureaucratically initiated and guided poster campaign hailing Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and denouncing the Chiang clique as "maggots" and even "dog turds."

But any attempt to use "big-character" wall posters to criticize or oppose Hua and his bureaucratic allies of the moment is not treated by the Stalinist bureaucracy as "mass criticism." Recently in Changsha, for example, official government announcements have denounced a man who had been arrested for merely crossing out Hua's name on a wall poster. The official government statement, quoted in the *New York Times* (15 November), reported that when the accused refused to repent under interrogation, he was charged with "crimes of counterrevolution" and promptly executed! (Other official notices which recently appeared in Changsha announced the execution of a woman accused of prostitution, which in Maoist China is branded "crimes of the two sexes.")

In China today, just as during the Mao-inspired Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the much-touted wall posters are tolerated and encouraged only as long as the "mass criticism" promotes the interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy which

monopolizes political power in the Chinese deformed workers state. During the Cultural Revolution, when some militant Red Guards began to turn the Maoist anti-bureaucratic rhetoric against top leaders of the Mao faction, a decree was announced in January 1967 declaring that anyone who publically criticized Mao or his (then) "closest-comrade-in-arms" Lin Biao would be arrested (*Los Angeles Times*, 27 October 1976).

When such threats failed to stem the more-Mao-than-thou criticism, the Peking authorities abruptly halted the display of all "big-character" posters in Peking. Many of the most radical-idealist Red Guard youth were banished to backwoods peasant communes or even arrested for criticizing Mao and his satraps, which prominently included Chiang, Chang, Wang and Yao.

As a parasitic caste basing its bureaucratic rule on the political expropriation of the Chinese workers and peasants, the Peking regime is hostile to any expression of political opposition, even mere scribbling of graffiti on an icon of the Chairman. Serious Maoists who have felt compelled to distance their politics from the reactionary foreign policy of Peking and the most recent obscurantist campaign against so-called "capitalist roaders" should realize that "critical Maoism" would be violently suppressed in China. The defense of the gains of the Chinese revolution and the interests of the Chinese workers requires the construction of a Trotskyist party in China capable of leading the proletarian political revolution to smash the Stalinist bureaucracy and establish soviet democracy and revolutionary internationalism.

Review:

"The Front" Looks Back at the Fifties

By
L.W. Howell

Of the recent spate of books and films dealing with the anti-communist witchhunt of the late 1940's and 1950's, *The Front*, starring Woody Allen, is worthwhile to see.

The Front is the first American film to condemn the cold-war witchhunt for victimizing not only some liberals, but also the many members and sympathizers of the Stalinist Communist Party (CP).

Although comedian Woody Allen plays the central role, *The Front* is the creation of a number of men who lived through the witchhunt. It is produced and directed by Martin Ritt (*The Spy Who Came in From the Cold*, *Souther*) and written by Walter Bernstein (*Fail Safe*), both of whom were blacklisted during the anti-communist witchhunt, as were four of the principal actors: Zero Mostel, Herschel Bernardi, Lloyd Gough and Joshua Shelley.

In the film Woody Allen is cast in the role of Howard Prince, an apolitical bar-and-grill cashier, small-time bookie and all-round loser, until he agrees to act as a front for three blacklisted television writers—Alfred Miller (Michael Murphy), Delaney (Lloyd Gough) and Phelps (David Margulies). Howard Prince merely signs his name to the manuscripts, takes them to the television studio and then takes ten percent of the sales price.

His trips to the television studios set the stage for the rather saccharin romance between Howard Prince and Florence Barrett (Andrea Marcovicci), a young script editor who is a paragon of all things liberal. Meanwhile, at the studio Hecky Brown (Zero Mostel), a popular television comedian, comes under investigation by the "Freedom Information Service," the private spy agency which prepares the blacklists for the entertainment industry. Grilled about his past association with the CP, Hecky Brown first attempts to deflect suspicion by playing the role of a tragi-comic buffoon, and then reluctantly agrees to spy on Howard Prince to save his own career.

When Florence Barrett leaves her job in moral protest against the blacklist, and when Brown is driven to suicide, Prince becomes awakened to the horrors of the witchhunt. Having received a subpoena to appear before a subcommittee of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), Prince takes a heroic stand: after refusing to fink at the hearing, he turns to the congressmen and makes his first—and last—"political" statement in the entire film, "Why don't you guys go fuck yourselves."

What sets off *The Front* from other recent American works dealing with the witchhunt era is its ability to broadly evoke solidarity with the real victims of the blacklisting. Up until *The Front*, most films dealing with this period have either portrayed Communists and their fellow travelers as social misfits, as did *The Way We Were*, or else condemned only the blacklisting of the "innocent" liberals, as did *Fear on Trial*, the television movie about the witchhunting of the liberal television personality, John Henry Faulk.

The Front portrays the three blacklisted writers as honest and decent. When they approached Howard Prince, each forewarned him that they were Communists and that fronting for them involved the risk that he too might become blacklisted. Likewise,

when Prince comes to them with the news that he has just received a subpoena to appear before a HUAC subcommittee, the three express a genuine personal concern to protect him. Moreover, the Communists are depicted as witchhunt victims who have maintained their personal integrity and political convictions at a time when the CP was instructing its members to disguise themselves as liberals.

Much of *The Front* is drawn from the experiences of blacklisted artists in the entertainment field. Bernstein had a front, Eliot Asinof, and when Asinof was blacklisted for fronting for him, Bernstein found a front for the front.

Likewise, the role of Hecky Brown is drawn from the personal histories of Zero Mostel and another blacklisted colleague, Philip Loeb. The suicide in *The Front* is clearly based on the tragic death of Loeb. In 1955—after years of unemployment, unceasing persecution, the death of his wife and his son's plunge into insanity—Loeb was driven to take his own life.

Similarly, the scene in *The Front* where Hecky Brown appears before the "Freedom Information Service" has been drawn from the televised appearance of Zero Mostel before HUAC in 1955. When called before the committee, he responded to questioning with a veritable comic routine (question: "What studio were you with?"; answer: "Eighteenth-Century Fox") and gave the government absolutely no information (taking the Fifth Amendment by holding up his right hand and wriggling five fingers).

The recasting of these episodes are a strength of *The Front*. The Zero Mostels were a small minority. Many of the left liberals and Stalinist sympathizers in the entertainment world ended up finking and actively joining the witchhunt. Early on in the cold-war era, both Elia Kazan and Edward Dmytryk (who went to jail as one of the Hollywood Ten) refused to finger anyone before the congressional committees, but by the time of the Korean War both were informing to save their careers.

At the same time, however, *The Front* tends to obscure this important history through its often misdirected attempts at humor and its sentimentalization. Unless one knows something about the background of Zero Mostel and others like him—which many youth today do not—the several powerful performances of Hecky Brown in *The Front* can be too easily regarded as fiction, with no more import than Allen's comic routines and one-liners.

Also contributing to deforming the past is the narrow focus on the television industry in New York. One gets not even a glimpse of the massive purges of militants from the labor movement, and the role of the Stalinists in the unions. One gets no sense of the terrible political isolation and social ostracism which many trade-union militants and socialists had to endure; for them there were no fronts.

To the extent that *The Front* has any politics, they are the politics of those who supported and sympathized with the CP during the years of the witchhunt. It is the politics of the popular-front alliance of Communists and the liberal wing of the bourgeoisie against the forces of reaction.

In *The Front* the liberals are portrayed as decent, the Communists as forthright, and together they unite to fight the evil McCarthyites. The closing scene has Howard Prince—called "America's Most Unlikely Hero"—who is about to be hauled away to prison for bet-making, being embraced



Zero Mostel and Woody Allen in scene from "The Front."

by Florence Barrett and then by the three Communist writers, while in the background a crowd of demonstrators carry placards demanding "Free Howard Prince." The pact is sealed with a kiss.

And it is "most unlikely," a fact which was demonstrated by the experiences of the cold-war period itself. In order to attract the Roosevelt-

tian liberals into a bloc, the CP supported anti-labor New Deal legislation, championed the no-strike pledge during the war and even voted for the anti-CP red clause in the CIO. Having thus isolated itself, the CP had no defence against the widespread purges in the unions and was forced to protect itself from the red scare by seek-

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SYL Demos Hit Imperialist Spy Agencies



Young Spartacus

LOS ANGELES—Twice last month spokesmen for the spy agencies of U.S. imperialism appeared at UCLA, and twice they were met with militant protest demonstrations organized by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL).

On October 16 William Colby, the former chief of the killer-spy agency CIA, addressed a symposium entitled, "The CIA and the Dilemma of Intelligence in a Democracy." Outside, the militant slogans and chants raised by the SYL cut through his liberal-sounding apologetics for imperialism with the demands, "Protest Colby, Killer Spy—Abolish the CIA!" and "Down With the Bosses' Spies—For Workers Revolution!"

The following week, on October 21, recruiters from the National Security Agency—the super-secretive spy agency which employs ten times the number of agents doing the dirty work of the CIA—appeared on campus. Again, the SYL responded by organizing a picket line outside the placement offices. These imperialist recruiters—whose fellow henchmen were responsible for the murder of Che Guevara, for helping bring to power the butcher Shah of Iran, and for aiding the blood-stained Chilean junta—must be driven off campus through militant protest.

Imperialist Recruiters Off Campus! Abolish the FBI/CIA/NSA! For Socialist Revolution!

Defend Iranian Students Against Cop/SAVAK Repression!

On the night of November 8, Houston cops launched a vicious and unprovoked assault on an orderly demonstration sponsored by the Iranian Student Association [ISA—Member of the Confederation of Iranian Students (National Union)]. The Iranian students had been protesting recent arrests and deportations of members of the fraternal World Confederation of Iranian Students in Paris.

As a result of the cop attack, 91 Iranian students were arrested, and scores were injured by the club-swinging cops. Almost immediately, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) served orders demanding that the arrested Iranians "show cause" why they should not be deported. Most of the arrested Iranians spent the next eight days in jail, where they were subjected to further intimidation.

After the Iranians had been released on their own recognizance (bond had initially been set at \$2,000), the deportation proceedings were dropped against 35. But the remainder of the 91 Iranian students still face the threat of deportation at their INS hearings in December (*Houston Post*, 19 November).

The cop attack on the ISA in Houston is the most recent incident in a wave of fierce repression against opponents of the Shah; Iranian dissidents in Paris and Los Angeles also have recently come under attack.

The increased repression directed against Iranians is not accidental, especially in this country. All recent evidence points to increased collusion between the CIA and the Iranian SAVAK (Sazman Amniyat va Keshvar—Iranian State Security Organization). Recently Alfred Atherton,

U.S. Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, confirmed the presence of SAVAK agents in this country. He said that their assignment was "to check on potential terrorists."

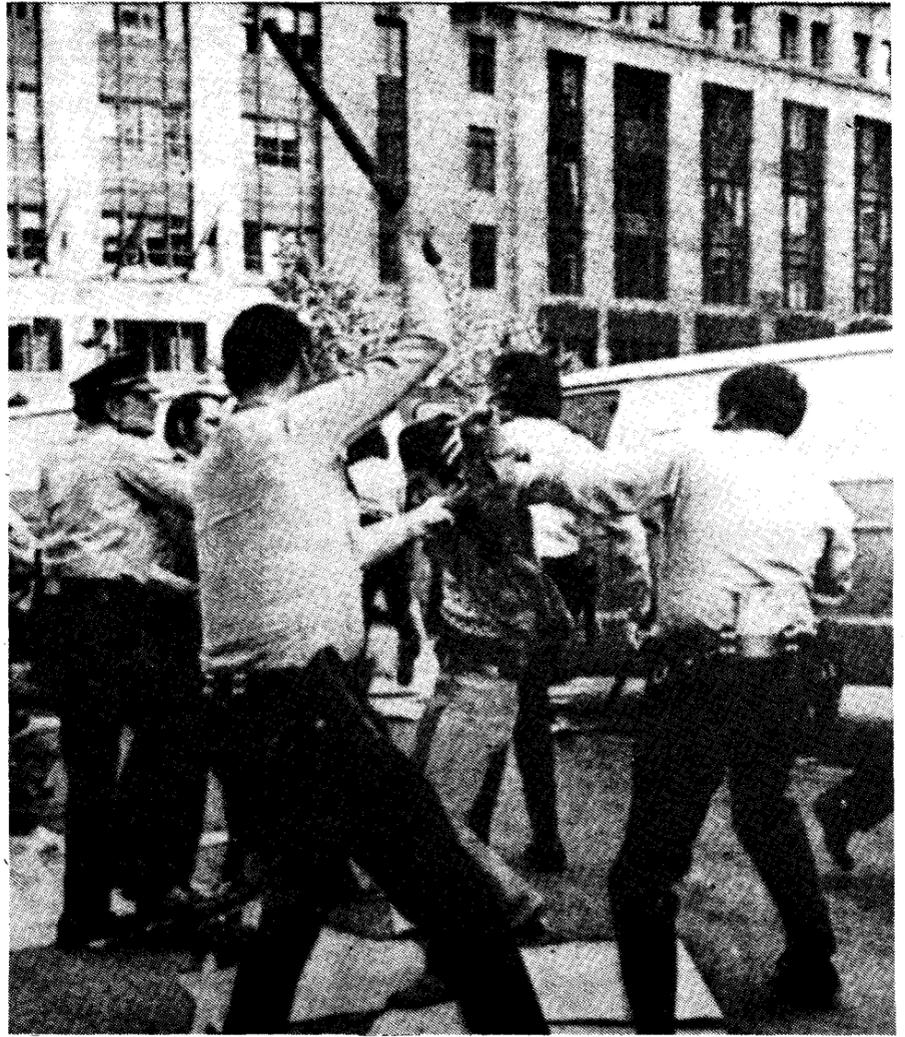
Even the Shah boasted in a recent interview that his Gestapo-like agents were working in this country to "check up on anybody who becomes affiliated with circles, organizations hostile to my country, which is the role of any intelligence organization" (*New York Times*, 22 October 1976). Syndicated columnist Jack Anderson has also written:

"The ties between the two agencies [the CIA and SAVAK] have always been close. One intelligence source, whose reliability has been tested, told us that SAVAK agents hound and harass Iranians in the United States, with full knowledge and sometimes the assistance of the CIA."

Now more than ever before the entire left and labor movement must come to the defense of the victimized Iranian militants in Houston and elsewhere. Arrest and prosecution of Iranians abroad can swiftly lead to deportation—to the barbaric torture chambers and dungeons of the Shah.

The terror campaign against the ISA in Houston, and everywhere Iranians are under attack, must be stopped now! From Houston to Paris to Teheran—an international campaign is urgently needed to mount an effective defense of all the victims of the Shah's white terror.

As a model, the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) points to the successful international defense campaign waged on behalf of Chilean miners' leader Mario Muñoz, who earlier this year was a hunted man in Argentina.



The international campaign, which was co-sponsored by the European-based Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile and by the U.S.-based Partisan Defense Committee (an anti-sectarian, class-struggle defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League), over a period of four months organized protest and pressure to secure the safe exit from Argentina for Muñoz and his family.

The campaign amassed literally hundreds of endorsements from labor unions, politicians, prominent individuals, civil libertarian groups and socialists, and around the world demonstrations were held, telegram campaigns were initiated and delegations were sent to Argentine embassies. As a result of the campaign Mario Muñoz was granted safe exit from Argentina and landed in Austria on August 4; his family soon followed.

This kind of broad-based non-sectarian defense should be organized

for the endangered Iranian students in Houston. Already the Militant Caucus of the ILWU/Local 6 has prompted the Executive Board of the union to pass a motion on November 23 that demands the dropping of all charges against the Iranians in Houston.

Unfortunately the ISA in Houston has rejected a defense campaign based on such anti-sectarian policies. In Houston the ISA held a defense meeting at which known Trotskyists were excluded.

But in spite of its sectarian exclusionism, which can only narrow and weaken its defense, the SYL pledges its solidarity with the struggle to stop the deportation threats and to force the state to drop all charges against the arrested Iranians in Houston.

Defend the Iranian Students in Houston! No Deportations—Drop the Charges! Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign Workers and Students! Down With the Butcher Shah! Forward to Socialist Revolution in Iran! ■

Condemn Hooligan Attack in Houston! Stop CAIFI Prosecution of ISA!

Civil Libertarians Endanger Iranian Students

On November 1 five supporters of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI) were reportedly attacked outside a cafeteria at the University of Houston (*Militant*, 19 November 1976). According to CAIFI, which is a civil-libertarian group which is prominently supported by the reformist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA), the attackers were Iranian; in addition, CAIFI claims that several of the Iranians who allegedly attacked them were supporters of the Iranian Student Association (Iran House). No one was seriously injured in the incident.

The Spartacus Youth League (SYL) opposes on principle violence and other strongarm methods to settle disputes within the left and labor movement. Such gangsterism opens up the left to cop attack and state interference. At the same time physical intimidation and slander can only serve

to discredit the left and prevent clarification of conflicting views through political struggle in accordance with the norms of workers democracy. Gangster attacks within the left must be exposed and fought through the organizations and self-defense traditions of the left and labor movement. We call upon all left and labor organizations to condemn the attack against the CAIFI supporters in Houston.

While the attack in Houston is despicable, the response of CAIFI is simply criminal. According to the *Militant* (19 November), CAIFI spokesman Mohammad Falsafi "says his group will press charges against the attackers." Moreover, CAIFI smears the Iranians allegedly responsible for the attack by implying the SAVAK, the Iranian secret police whose agents are known to operate in this country, was behind the attack.

CAIFI knows only too well that

prosecution of Iranians in the courts can lead to their deportation back to Iran, where opponents of the Shah's police state are hounded, imprisoned and often subjected to prolonged and hideous torture. When 91 Iranian students were arrested in Houston on November 8, the Immigration and Naturalization Service seized upon the charges as a pretext to begin deportation hearings (see article this page).

Likewise, CAIFI knows only too well the "justice" which Iranians can expect to receive from the capitalist cops and courts. Following the arrests of the 91 Iranian students on November 8, for example, Houston police chief "Pappy" Bond declared that he was "fed up" with people "who don't live in this country, who try to solve the problems of their government by disturbing the people of Houston" (see "Houston Cops Arrest 91 Iranian Students," *Work-*

ers Vanguard, 19 November 1976).

The entire working-class movement and all who stand for democratic rights must vigorously condemn the prosecution of these Iranians by CAIFI. Should CAIFI "win" its court case, opponents of the Shah's white terror might well find themselves deported to Iran—and the responsibility for the consequences would rest entirely on the shoulders of CAIFI and its SWP/YSA sponsors. Despite our political differences with all wings of the Iranian Student Association, we defend the accused Iranians in Houston against the bourgeois state and call upon all who uphold democratic rights to demand that CAIFI drop its case at once.

Oppose gangsterism on the left! Demand that CAIFI drop charges against the Iranians and repudiate its court action! For the right of political asylum for opponents of the Shah's white terror!

Imperialists Thrive, Workers Throttled

Angolan "Socialism" Good For Gulf

In celebration of the first anniversary of Angolan independence, the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) last month proclaimed its decision to form a "Marxist-Leninist vanguard party" and to develop the country into a "socialist state."

But despite its continuing reliance upon Cuban and Russian aid, the radical-nationalist MPLA remains committed in reality to developing a neo-colonialist *bourgeois* regime in Angola. Seeking to placate the working masses of Angola, the MPLA resorts to "socialist" rhetoric as a cover for its anti-proletarian and pro-imperialist policies and its increasingly bonapartist regime (in "reorganizing" the government President Agostinho Neto has now assumed all three highest offices, while abolishing the ministry headed by his main "left" rival, Nito Alves).

Imperialist Interests Untouched

Ever since its military victory last February over the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) the MPLA has respected imperialist holdings in Angola and has sought to attract even more imperialist investments. Already written into the Constitution of the People's Republic of Angola is the pledge that the government "recognizes, protects and guarantees private property." More recently, Angolan Foreign Minister Jose Eduardo dos Santos once again stressed that the MPLA regime will "respect the interests of the multinational companies in Angola" and will nationalize only "those foreign commercial and industrial enterprises that have been abandoned by their owners" (quoted in *African Development*, November 1976).

Unlike the right-wing governments of Kuwait and Venezuela, which recently nationalized all Gulf "concessions" on their territory, the MPLA has cemented close relations with Gulf, which pumps 123,000 barrels a day from its holdings in the Angolan enclave of Cabinda (providing Gulf with nearly ten percent of all its overseas profits). In addition, the strategic Benguela Railway as well as the Benguela iron mines have been left in the hands of British and German magnates who are able to dominate the Angolan economy. Moreover, a leading South African government official recently congratulated the "socialist" MPLA government for providing "excellent protection" for South African interests in Angola, especially the vast Diamang diamond mines and the Calueque dam complex (*African Development*, November 1976).

Nationalizations under the MPLA regime have been limited to scattered Portuguese holdings abandoned by their owners during the civil war. Yet in economically underdeveloped capitalist countries the creation of a "public sector" under the control of the neo-colonialist state represents nothing more than the means through which a petty-bourgeois layer can be transformed into a bourgeoisie. Far from undermining imperialist domination and ensuring social amelioration for the masses, such "state-capitalist" development can produce only bonapartist—or so-called "African socialist"—regimes such as

Congo-Brazzaville, where after more than a decade of the "non-capitalist road" the commanding heights of the economy are still controlled by French imperialism, while the masses remain impoverished.

Forced Labor for Strikers

Faced with the task of reviving and rebuilding the capitalist economy after the destructive civil war, the MPLA government has lacked the stability to be able to grant any significant concessions to the working class and dispossessed masses while imposing ruthless exploitation of labor. To restrain the masses the MPLA government has been compelled to rely mainly on radical demagoguery and draconian repression.

When strikes brought industrial production in Luanda to a standstill last spring, the MPLA denounced the "paralysis of production" as a "concerted plan of reaction," suspended all wage negotiations in early July, and announced that all so-called "economic sabotage"—including all strikes—would be punished with forced labor (*Le Monde*, 3 September 1976). In June the government rounded up unemployed workers in Luanda and delivered them to coffee plantation bosses as labor brigades for harvesting the coffee crop.

Viewing political opposition to its left and all independent proletarian-based organizations as a threat to its bonapartist rule, the MPLA regime early on jailed scores of trade-union militants, revolutionaries and even dissidents within the MPLA. At the same time the independent unions, neighborhood committees and "people's power" groups which had provided the MPLA with a base of support during the civil war were either dissolved or else completely subordinated to the state apparatus.

All the institutions of "people's power" established by the MPLA function only to discipline labor and ensure the one-party rule of the MPLA. Although much touted as organs of workers control, the "workers committees" organized by the MPLA (often to replace dissolved trade unions) are admittedly merely "consultative bodies" (*Le Monde*, 28 February 1976). Likewise, the once independent neighborhood committees have been transformed into "people's committees" hailed by the regime as "socialist" institutions of "people's power." Yet the elections to the "people's committees" were largely boycotted last spring; only ten percent of the electorate turned out to vote after the MPLA postponed the elections on account of the strike wave and then disqualified all but MPLA-approved candidates from running.

Trotskyist Position Vindicated

The policies pursued by the MPLA during the last year stand as a vindication of the position on Angola taken by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) when the Portuguese colony was plunged into civil war in the months before the formal proclamation of independence in November 1975.

At that time the SL/SYL argued that despite their different social/tribal bases and despite their different foreign allies, the three rival Angolan independence forces—MPLA, FNLA and UNITA—were fighting only



Angolan "socialism": masses labor on plantations to fill imperialist coffers.

to determine which petty-bourgeois nationalist formation would establish its hegemony and monopolize political power in the soon-to-be-independent Angola. We stated:

"In Angola, where the native bourgeoisie is non-existent as a class, where the proletariat is weak and lacking developed class consciousness, and where the vast rural population is divided by myriad tribal and ethnic differences, any of the petty-bourgeois nationalist formations which might come to power through military means will establish a regime of a bonapartist character, becoming the new middlemen for continued imperialist exploitation. The Angolan nationalists will follow in the steps of Nkrumah, who banned strikes and imprisoned labor militants; Nyerere, who outlawed working-class organizations; and Sekou Touré, who instituted forced labor."

—*Young Spartacus*, September 1975

As long as the conflict in Angola remained fundamentally an *intra-nationalist* civil war with the Portuguese colonialist forces peripheral to the struggle, we maintained that the interests of the proletariat and rural poor would not be advanced by the military victory of one side over any other, although we raised the call for the self-defense of urban slum-dwellers in areas controlled by the MPLA which were under attack by the tribalist FNLA and UNITA.

But when the limited three-cornered civil war between rival Angolan nationalist forces became decisively subsumed by the South African invasion of Angola and by the ensuing massive influx of Cuban troops on the side of the MPLA, we stressed that the conflict had thereby become internationalized and that the Cuban-led/Russian-aided MPLA should be given military support in its struggle to defeat the imperialist power play.

At the same time our call for the military victory of the MPLA did not alter our irreconcilable *political opposition* to these petty-bourgeois nationalists and their goal

of establishing a black-ruled bourgeois state in Angola. Nor was our call for military support to the MPLA unconditional and open-ended; with the withdrawal of the South African forces the imperialist power play in Angola collapsed in defeat.

(Since that time, however, UNITA forces in southern Angola have waged a sporadic guerrilla war of sabotage against the Luanda regime. In recent weeks fighting between the Cuban-commanded MPLA forces and the defeated rebel bands has reportedly flared up. At this time the character



Agostinho Neto and Fidel Castro.

of the conflict in southern Angola remains unclear—in particular, the extent to which the UNITA forces in Angola are directly controlled by the South African military units across the border in Namibia—since all reports of the fighting to date have emanated from South African sources.)

Not "Radical" Nationalism, But Socialist Revolution!

In the economically underdeveloped countries, even the "radical" petty-bourgeois nationalist regimes—from Angola to Mozambique to South Yemen—can not accomplish the most basic democratic tasks associated with the bourgeois revolution, above all agrarian reform and full national

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The French Revolution of 1848

By
Joseph
Seymour

EDITOR'S NOTE: The first part of "The French Revolution of 1848" appeared in the November issue of Young Spartacus and is continued in the article below. The first section of the article discussed the democratic opposition to the quasi-absolutist Orléanist regime that had developed around the newspapers, *Le National* and *La Réforme*; the revolutionary insurrection of February 1848 which

toppled King Louis Philippe; the formation of the Provisional Government and its inclusion of a socialist component; and the National Workshops which were established as bourgeois concessions to the revolutionary masses. As with the previous articles in the series, editorial alterations have been kept to a minimum to preserve the character of the original verbal presentation.



Meeting of one of the many political clubs of the Republican movement.

Between February and June [of 1848] there existed mass revolutionary organizations in Paris and, therefore, a real possibility of a second and more radical revolution aimed at overthrowing the Provisional Government, or at least its right-wing bourgeois majority [headed by Alphonse de Lamartine]. So it is important to understand the different political tendencies and organizations which together formed the popular revolutionary movement.

At that time the direct and localized Republican political organizations were called the "clubs," which provided an expression for a number of distinct political tendencies. The right wing of the clubs represented the *Réforme* group; that is, those radical democrats [led by Alexandre Ledru-Rollin and pacifist-socialist Louis Blanc] who were prepared to make certain limited concessions to social welfare for the masses. The left wing of the clubs followed the Jacobin communists led by [Louis-Auguste] Blanqui. In addition, there were clubs of utopian socialists [under the leadership of Etienne Cabet] which were numerically quite substantial.

Blanqui: Gathering Forces for Insurrection

Early on, as the revolution lurched forward, there was a sharp polarization between the Blanquist clubs, which were the left enemies of the Provisional Government, and the

other clubs which supported at least the left wing of the government.

In a previous talk I discussed Blanqui up until the time of his imprisonment in 1839. In 1848 he emerged from exile as the most renowned revolutionary communist in France, or for that matter, in the world. Arriving in Paris following the February insurrection, Blanqui surveyed the political scene and at once decided to seek an alliance with the *Réforme* group—the radical-democratic supporters of the government—to oust the *National* group [representing the left wing of the big bourgeoisie]. At this time Blanqui met with the new Police chief Marc Caussidière, a secondary figure in the secret societies under the Orléanist regime whom Blanqui respected. Blanqui said to Caussidière, "What are you doing supporting Lamartine and that conceited idiot Louis Blanc?" Caussidière shrugged his shoulders and replied, "Well, we have no choice."

Finding the left wing of the government unwilling to overthrow the bourgeois right wing, Blanqui decided to go into opposition to the entire Provisional Government. But at that point Blanqui had to contend with the insurrectionary clamor of his own revolutionary ranks, who wanted to rise against the government despite its enormous popular support.

In a famous speech to his followers [in the Central Republican Society], Blanqui argued against an immediate

Marxism and the Jacobin Communist Tradition/Part 6

With this continuing series *Young Spartacus* makes available to its readers the presentations on the origins of Marxism that have been given by Joseph Seymour of the Spartacist League Central Committee at several SYL educational conferences on the east and west coasts and in the midwest during the last year.

"Marxism and the Jacobin Communist Tradition" seeks to demonstrate how Marx and Engels assimilated the experiences and political worldviews of the two generations of revolutionary militants who had attempted to achieve an egalitarian-collectivist social order through the triumph of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Thus, the series debunks the academic/New Left interpretation of Marxism as simply a self-contained ideological derivation from Hegelian philosophy.

Preceding articles in the series have covered the Great French Revolution and the living continuity of Jacobin communism in the conspiratorial organizations and insurrectionary struggles of Babeuf and Buonarroti; the differentiation within the French democratic opposition from the Carbonari Conspiracy and the French Revolution of 1830 to the Blanqui/Barbès putsch of 1839; British Chartism and its revolutionary climax; the origins of the Communist League and its development through the factional struggle between the utopian millennialism of Weitling and the propagandism of Schapper; and the political development of Karl Marx before 1848.

The back issues of *Young Spartacus* featuring the first six articles in this series are still available and may be obtained at 25 cents per issue from: Spartacus Youth Publishing Company, Box 825, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013.



"Journée" of 17 March 1848.

insurrection and for developing through propaganda and agitation the mass support needed to overthrow the Provisional Government:

"France is not Republican. The Revolution which has just been completed is only a happy surprise, nothing more. If to-day we try to bring to power men whose names are compromised in bourgeois eyes by political condemnations, the provinces will be alarmed, will remember the Terror and the Convention, and, perhaps, recall the fugitive king. Even the National Guard was involuntarily our accomplices; it is composed of timid shopkeepers who to-morrow may well depose those whom yesterday they supported, with cries of *Vive la République!*"

"Leave the men in the Hôtel de Ville to their impotence. Their feebleness is the certain presage of their fall. In their hands they have an ephemeral power; we—behind us we have the people and the clubs in which we shall organize ourselves for revolution as once the Jacobins did. Be content to wait a few days more and the Revolution will be ours. Suppose we seized power by an audacious stroke, like robbers under the darkness of night, who would answer for the duration of our power? Should we not find beneath us energetic and ambitious men burning to oust us by similar means?"

"What we need for our support is the mass of the people, the *faubourgs* in insurrection, a new August 10th [the date during the Great French Revolution when the Revolutionary Commune, led by Robespierre and

other Jacobins, stormed the Tuileries]. Then we should at least have the prestige of a revolutionary force."

—Raymond Postgate, *Revolution from 1789 to 1906*

And that was a generally correct strategy for the time.

Ledru-Rollin and Blanc: Left Prop for the Government

To the right of the Blanquist clubs were the tendencies allied with the *Réforme* group, or more specifically, with its principal leader Ledru-Rollin. (The relationship between these clubs and Ledru-Rollin invites comparison with the relationship between several of the Portuguese "far-left" organizations and "left" General Carvalho in the pre-revolutionary period preceding the 25 November 1975 barracks revolt.) Chief among these clubs was the Club of the Revolution led by Armand Barbès, who had been Blanqui's lieutenant in 1839 but subsequently broke with Blanqui and moved right.

In addition to the Barbès club, the Club of the Rights of Man also was supporting the Provisional Government at this time. (During his brief sojourn in Paris during 1848, Marx had attended the meetings of this club as a member of the Society of the Rights of Man, which was consistent with his pre-February ties to the *Réforme* group.)

Although none of the clubs was

completely proletarian in composition, the Central Republican Society of Blanqui was far more proletarian than the Club of the Revolution led by Barbès. Yet the February revolution did create a purely proletarian formation, which was quite unanticipated by anybody concerned. It was called the "Luxembourg Commission" and was the product of the Provisional Government's maneuver to co-opt the demand raised by Louis Blanc for a labor ministry with real power and finances. Composed of elected representatives from the Paris unions, the Luxembourg Commission, even though under the leadership of the reformist-socialist Blanc, assumed the characteristic of an embryonic soviet; the Commission at once demanded the implementation of the Provisional Government's commitment to the right to labor through the establishment of subsidized producer cooperatives (the program of Blanc, later appropriated by Proudhon).

In addition, the National Workshops also were proletarian organizations. Since they represented the only hope of the unemployed, the National Workshops were viewed by the working class as the most important concession which had been gained by the popular masses as a result of the February revolution. As we shall see, the National Workshops played a pivotal role in the revolution.

The National Guard Democratized

One of the most important concessions which the Provisional Government made to the revolutionary masses was the democratization of the National Guard. The property qualification, or rather *de facto* property qualification, was abolished, and for the first time the National Guard was opened to the Parisian working class. Given that the National Guard had traditions of autonomy and election of officers, the influx of workers into the militia was quite important; the election of officers became one of the main arenas for political struggle between the proletarian tendencies and the bourgeoisie and, in the final outcome, no less important than the elections to the national parliament.

As I've mentioned, the French revolution of 1848 provides us with a number of historical "firsts." But it also has given us a historical "last"—the period between February and June was the final expression of radical bourgeois democracy, when the bourgeoisie ruled not through a special body of armed men whose cadre had been selected on the basis of ideological loyalty, but through an armed population that could be controlled only through *political* means.

The Specter of a Reactionary Regime Through Democratic Elections

Now we come to the fundamental contradiction of the revolution of 1848 which in its full manifestations had been foreseen perhaps only by Blanqui. Under Louis Philippe, the program of the radical democrats—and with them the communists—for a constituent assembly based on direct universal suffrage pointed toward a government far to the left of the Orleanist regime. But the government imposed by the Parisian masses as the result of the February revolution was far to the left of any regime which could have been established on the basis of such an election, given the conservative peasant vote.

Thus, the radical democrats found themselves in a rather peculiar position. Recognizing that a democratic election would be political suicide, they called for postponing the election, which had been done during the Terror under Robespierre.

Moreover, the economic policies of



Above, "The Parliament of Labor": Luxembourg Commission promised representation of the interests of labor. Below, the Provisional Government: from right to left, Arago, Ledru-Rollin, Dupont de l'Eure, Marie, Lamartine; standing right to left, Louis Blanc, Flocon, Crémieux, Marrast, Albert, Garnier-Pagès.



Bibliothèque Nationale

the Provisional Government served to further provoke reaction among the peasantry. Following the February revolution, as France plunged into a financial crisis, the bourgeoisie rushed to withdraw money from the banks and transform all kinds of credit to gold, partly to protect their wealth and partly to bankrupt the new revolutionary regime. In response, the Provisional Government imposed a regressive tax—actually surtax—on all taxpayers. Yet this tax fell most harshly on the peasantry, alienating them even more from the regime in Paris.

In addition, the National Workshops, which were presented to the world as the harbinger of socialism, were essentially a form of make-work welfare. The French peasantry was told—and believed—that its taxes were being used to pay the Parisian unemployed to perform useless labor. In fact, Blanc's proposal for subsidized producer cooperatives would have been far less wasteful in an economic sense than the National Workshops.

Once again the French revolution of 1848 presents us with lessons hav-

ing contemporary relevance: popular-front governments which implement conservative economic policies to appease the big bourgeoisie actually *strengthen* reaction among the petty-bourgeoisie. The policies pursued by the popular-front Allende regime in Chile provide a classic example.

The Journée of March 17

It was the demands for the postponement of the elections, for the institutionalization of the ministry of labor to implement the right to work, and for an end to the incursions of the army in Paris which led to the famous *journée* of March 17. It was the first and largest demonstration during the revolution that aimed at pressuring the Provisional Government to the left. The initiative had come from Blanqui, who demanded the indefinite postponement of the elections for a constituent assembly.

In his petition to the government for postponing elections Blanqui declared:

"Citizens, we demand the adjournment of the elections for the constituent

assembly and the national guard. These elections would be derisory. "In the [provincial] towns, the working classes, conditioned to subjugation by long years of repression and poverty, would take no part in the voting or else they would be led to the polls by their masters like blind cattle.

"Out in the countryside, all the influence is in the hands of the clergy and of the aristocrats.

"The people do not know; yet know they must. This is not a task to be accomplished in a day or even a month. When counter-revolution alone has had the right to speak for half a century, is it too much to give perhaps a year to liberty?"

"Enlightenment must reach even the tiniest hamlets. The workers must lift up their heads which have been bowed by servitude and recover from that state of prostration and stupor in which they used to be kept by powerful oppressive interests."

—Roger Price, 1848 in France

However, the day before the demonstration demanding the postponement of elections, the elite units of the National Guard rebelled over their exclusion from the repressive apparatus, which had been democratized and reorganized by Ledru-Rollin. These elite units—known as the "bearskin buskins" [from their big fur hats]—took to the streets shouting, "Down with Ledru-Rollin!"

This counterrevolutionary demonstration had the result of mobilizing enormous popular support for the Provisional Government against what was correctly seen as a reactionary threat. But the "bearskin buskin" revolt also had the effect of deflecting the aim of the *journée* of March 17: what had originally been planned as a demonstration to force the government to postpone the elections and to keep the army out of Paris turned into a demonstration of semi-support for the regime.

The *journée* drew an enormous crowd of 200,000. The main spokesman was Blanqui, although he was compelled to compromise his call for indefinite postponement of the elections in order to conciliate some of the more moderate club leaders, who were prepared to postpone the elections for perhaps a month, but not a year or more. But the right wing of the government, headed by Lamartine, simply refused to concede even the moderate demands of postponement of the elections for a month and keeping the army out of Paris.

The Turning Point of the Revolution

The period between the *journée* of March 17 and the *journée* of April 16 is critical in the French revolution of 1848. It was during this period that the possibility of a second, more radical revolution was lost. A Jacobin regime, even if only short-lived, would have represented an enormously important historical experience for the French working class.

The first development undermining the possibility for a left-wing overthrow of the Provisional Government was that Blanqui's authority, which was enormous and hence very threatening to the existing government, was temporarily but very severely damaged by the publication of a document accusing Blanqui of informing on Barbès in 1839. Blanqui was undoubtedly framed up. Barbès, who at that time was a right-wing opponent of Blanqui in the clubs, was in an alliance with Ledru-Rollin. Moreover, the journalist who brought forth the charges just so happened to have been a close friend of Ledru-Rollin. In any case, the accusations against Blanqui threw the entire club movement into turmoil and took Blanqui out of action in an absolutely critical period.

While Blanqui was occupied with answering the specific charges and clearing his name, Louis Blanc was

continued on page 8



Arms being distributed to suppress workers.

1848...

continued from page 7

able to assume the leadership of the left opposition. Yet Blanc knew well that as the head of the Luxembourg Commission and with his greatly enhanced authority he would be the target of bourgeois reaction in an elected government. So Blanc decided to continue the policy of bringing mass pressure to bear on the right wing of the provisional assembly. Thus, in his later account of the March 17 *journée*, Blanc wrote:

"There are still seven members on one side and four on the other [in fact, there were nine on one side and two on the other], but behind these four the 17th of March brought on the scene a fifth voter, the people."

—Louis Blanc, *Eighteen Forty-Eight: Historical Revelations*

It is clear that at this time Louis Blanc was still thinking in terms of the *Réforme* forces versus the *National*—that is, the left wing of bourgeois democracy and the communists versus the right wing of bourgeois democracy in alliance with the monarchists. But events had superseded that strategy.

Having lost on the issue of the elections, which were scheduled for April 24, Louis Blanc and the left opposition shifted to the demand for the elected government to implement the right to labor through establishing a ministry of labor. Blanc then decided to organize a demonstration in support of this demand.

The right-wing members of the Provisional Government, however, would support neither the right to work nor the immediate establishment of a ministry of labor. Now, the ensuing events remain historically obscure. But it is clear that with the active participation of Ledru-Rollin the right wing of the Provisional Government headed by Lamartine launched a red scare, floating rumors that the demonstration called by Blanc would signal the beginning of an insurrection aimed at purging the right wing of the government. Moreover, Blanqui was accused of masterminding this putsch plan, although in fact he had nothing to do with the planned demonstration.

In a certain sense, this was the turning point of the revolution. Until April 16 the radical bourgeois democrats and the socialists had marched arm and arm; the differences between the traditions of Robespierre and those of Louis Blanc or even Blanqui were not considered antagonistic until that time. But April 16 represented the first time in history that the left wing of the bourgeoisie turned on its socialist allies, and arguments between them which only a few months before seemed to have merely an academic character were resolved by very different methods.

On April 16 the demonstration called by Louis Blanc and the Luxembourg Commission—and supported by the Blanquist clubs and the utopian socialists—drew 20,000 into the streets. As the march reached its point of destination it was surrounded by 100,000 National Guardsmen,

armed to the teeth. Among the National Guardsmen were members of the clubs which had been supporting the Provisional Government, including Colonel Armand Barbès, former revolutionary communist, former ally of Blanqui and head of the Club of the Revolution. The same people who only one month before had been the allies of the communists were now shouting, "Down with the communists!" And that was the first time that *this* slogan had been raised as the battle cry of the counterrevolution.

April 16 brought a short-lived attempt at repression; the summons for the arrest of Blanqui had to be rescinded because he was too popular a figure. After April 16 the possibility of a Jacobin communist dictatorship in Paris, even of short duration, was removed from the historic agenda. The critical point was when the bourgeois-democratic allies of the left turned upon them with military force. But they were only creating the conditions for their own destruction by political forces to *their* right.

Before I continue the historical narrative let me make a few generalizations.

What was the maximum possible in the French revolution of 1848? The Paris Commune—23 years earlier. Had the Parisian masses been rallied behind the leadership of Blanqui—or even Blanqui in some kind of unstable alliance with the left wing of the clubs, the National Workshops and the Luxembourg Commission—they could have taken power in Paris. It is without doubt that the military

forces of the French bourgeoisie in the provinces would have eventually overwhelmed them. But such a second revolution, even in its defeat, would have ensured that the French Revolution of 1871 would have begun on a much higher level.

Revolutionary consciousness develops, provided there is organizational continuity, as a result of defeats in which the illusions of the previous revolutionary experience are shattered. Thus, in the revolution of 1830 the masses demanded a republic. However, the illusions in Lafayette led to the establishment of a liberal monarchy, which then became increasingly absolutist. In the 1848 revolution the masses learned the lesson of 1830. So when Lamartine attempted to repeat the role of Lafayette, Raspail [one of the leading socialists] said, "You do that, and we'll kill you."

In the 1848 revolution the masses demanded a democratic republic with at least a socialist component, providing state-guaranteed employment, if not the expropriation of all property. But illusions in Ledru-Rollin likewise paved the way for the establishment of a conservative bourgeois-democratic regime, which became increasingly repressive and eventually succumbed to Bonapartism.

Well, in 1871 the Parisian masses learned the lesson of 1848 and did not give the vote to the peasantry. In several ways the defeat of the proletariat in 1848 presaged its partial victory in 1871.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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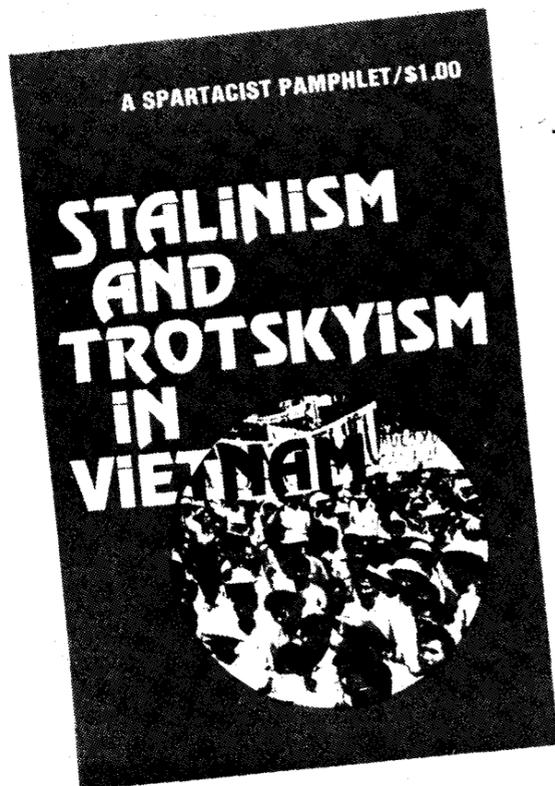
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NSCAR Flops

BOSTON—Over the weekend of November 19-21 the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) staged its third national conference here. Despite the appearance of a few prominent guest speakers and the adoption of several "action proposals," the conference was a colossal flop.

Formed two years ago by the reformist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) as a vehicle to mobilize pro-busing sentiment into liberal demonstrations in Boston, NSCAR has based its entire "mass-action strategy" on preaching reliance on bourgeois politicians and the capitalist armed forces to fight racism. In the past NSCAR has organized its parades in Boston under the liberal demand that the government use "all necessary force"—including the racist Boston cops and the imperialist U.S. army—to "protect" black people from racist attack and to implement desegregation.

With the cancellation of the April 24 "March on Boston"—when the SWP/YSA policy of reliance upon liberal sponsors and cop protection was thoroughly exposed—NSCAR simply took a dive on busing. Having tailed the predictable passivity and defeatism of the liberal bourgeoisie toward school desegregation, the SWP/YSA has in fact liquidated NSCAR as an activist organization and has seized upon the issue of South Africa as the least embarrassing way to hide this fact.

Despite the hasty replacement of last year's red-white-and-blue bicentennial rhetoric with the nationalists' black-green-and-red, NSCAR miserably failed to attract any significant support. Attendance at the recent conference was less than a fourth of the number attending the first conference in Boston. Moreover, almost all the participants, numbering about 400 in the plenary sessions, were supporters of the SWP/YSA. So impotent is NSCAR that despite its regular praise of the legalist NAACP, featured speaker Tom Atkins of the Boston NAACP didn't bother to show... for the second year in a row!

NSCAR's "anti-apartheid campaign"—which proposes nothing more than two days of local actions four months from now—projects the same orientation to liberal slogans and bourgeois politicians that led to the defeat of their pro-busing effort. Since neither the American nor the South African bourgeoisie are prepared to come out for the complete abolition of the apartheid system, the SWP/YSA can thus pose as the most consistent bourgeois democrats on the question of apartheid. Thus, the SWP/YSA calls

for "black majority rule now" *within the framework of capitalism.*

It was the question of South Africa which occupied the entire day's proceedings on Saturday. NSCAR more than amply demonstrated that it did not have an activist commitment to anti-apartheid protests, but rather had seized upon the issue of South Africa to capitalize on the widespread solidarity with anti-apartheid struggles in the South African townships. In the past weeks and months, when the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) initiated a united-front demonstration at the University at Chicago protesting police-state repression in South Africa and joined with longshore union militants in the Bay Area to picket a freighter containing South African cargo, the SWP/YSA-NSCAR refused to participate!

Moreover, NSCAR simply substitutes abstract "anti-racist" slogans—such as, "No to racism from Boston to South Africa"—to cover its lack of orientation anywhere. At one point Maceo Dixon, the outgoing chairman of NSCAR, called for black majority rule not only in Soweto, but also in Newark and Brooklyn! It is indeed revealing that at the conference NSCAR invoked "community-control" rhetoric, while all but ignoring busing.

Much to the chagrin of the SWP/YSA, the Spartacist League (SL) and the SYL aggressively intervened in the conference, exposing the liberal politics promoted by NSCAR and counterposing our class-struggle perspective for the fight against racial oppression. The SYL presented two resolutions to the conference in support of busing and labor/black defense and in opposition to "free speech for fascists." In addition, the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC)—a class-struggle, anti-sectarian defense organization which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League—introduced a motion on class-struggle defense which was counterposed to the civil-libertarian defense policies of NSCAR.

While the report on the conference in the 3 December *Militant* attempts to dismiss the SYL's intervention in a single sentence labeling us "a small sectarian group," the reality is that the SWP/YSA was forced to confront and respond to the left criticism raised by the SYL throughout the conference. Although the main conference sessions were run with well-practiced bureaucratic manipulation, corridor discussions and often heated arguments between supporters of the SYL and the SWP/YSA continually took place. Moreover, the SYL workshop on "Racial Oppression and Working-Class Politics," which featured speakers from both the SYL and PDC, drew over 50 conference participants, making it one of the largest workshops held during the conference.

After the SYL intervened in the South Africa discussion Saturday to sharply expose NSCAR for its opportunism, the SWP/YSA came into the Sunday session, which included one point on the agenda about busing, determined to bureaucratically limit the number of SYL spokesmen recognized by the chair. Thus, the SYL managed to speak only once from the floor on busing, before the SWP/YSA-NSCAR closed the discussion.

In contrast to the SYL resolution on busing, the motion raised by NSCAR simply called for an "educational campaign" on desegregation, demagogically adding that NSCAR "stands prepared to immediately respond to any racist attacks..." But racist attacks occur daily in South Boston! The NSCAR motion on busing represents only a self-serving retreat from

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Spartacus Youth League Motions to the 19-21 November Conference of the NSCAR

I. For Busing and Labor/Black Defense!

Busing should be supported as a measure which enforces the democratic right of equal access to public educational facilities for black people and which contributes to breaking down barriers of racial segregation. Yet capitalist politicians and the courts have limited the busing plans which are presently in force across the country to working-class inner city and ghetto areas, where the public schools are already overcrowded and underfinanced. Busing for desegregation must be extended throughout municipal school systems and into the suburbs, providing access to additional and relatively superior facilities for poor and working-class students, both black and white.

After two years of busing in Boston and elsewhere, the racist backlash against school desegregation continues. To insure the implementation of busing and to defend black people from racist attack the formation of a defense based on the organizations of the working class and black community remains an urgent necessity. But NSCAR, which has consistently opposed our call for labor/black defense, has been the most vociferous champion of the liberal demand that the capitalist state use "all necessary force"—including the cops and imperialist army—to "protect" black people and defeat the racist offensive. This liberal strategy led straight to the defeat of the April 24 "March on Boston," which was cancelled when NSCAR could not rely on support from its liberal allies nor on the cops for "protection."

Since the fiasco of the April 24 "March on Boston," NSCAR has simply withdrawn from all significant activity in defense of school desegregation. But NSCAR has not abandoned the liberal strategy which led to that defeat. Black people, the labor movement and the left can expect the cops and troops only to defend the racist status quo and to suppress any independent defense efforts by the oppressed. Supporters of desegregation must rely only on labor/black defense, based on their own strength and organizations, to defeat the racist offensive and drive forward the struggle for racial equality.

The Spartacus Youth League calls upon this conference to endorse the following demands which point the way forward for actions in support of busing:

- SUPPORT BUSING—EXTEND BUSING TO THE SUBURBS!
- NO TROOPS TO BOSTON—NO CONFIDENCE IN THE ARMED FORCES OF CAPITALISM!
- FOR LABOR/BLACK DEFENSE AGAINST RACIST ATTACKS!

II. No "Free Speech" for Fascists!

Emboldened by racist anti-busing mobilizations from Boston to Louisville over the past several years, fascist thugs of the Ku Klux Klan and other ultra-rightist terrorist organizations have increasingly reared their heads to foment racist violence against black people and the struggle for racial equality. Last spring in Boston the KKK-infested South Boston Marshals spearheaded the wave of vigilante violence against black people that forced the cancellation of the April 24 "March on Boston."

But NSCAR, which still bases its anti-racist "strategy" on liberal-dominated protests to pressure the capitalist government to "protect" black people from racist attacks, follows a policy of demanding that black people, the left and labor movement respect the so-called "rights" of fascists to free speech and assembly. To take only one example: at the University of Houston in late 1975, when a KKK mayoral candidate provoked the audience to verbal protest with his genocidal raving and racist taunts, supporters of NSCAR repeatedly intervened to hush the indignant crowd and to defend "free speech" for this aspiring mass murderer.

By insisting that the oppressed must always allow fascist demagogues their "rights" to organize for racist terror, and by preaching that the oppressed should rely on the racist cops and imperialist army for their defense, NSCAR can only *politically* disarm and disorient the struggle against the fascist threat from the very start. Our perspective must be the struggle to mobilize the mass organizations of the working class and black community for labor/black defense capable of smashing the fascist threats and defending the democratic rights of the oppressed. As part of this perspective, we oppose the civil-libertarian demand for the capitalist state to ban or otherwise curb the "rights" of fascists; such "anti-extremist" legislation has always been used more vigorously and frequently against the left than against the fascists.

The Spartacus Youth League calls upon this conference to repudiate the NSCAR policy which defends "democratic rights" for fascists and to champion the following political slogans as the guide for effective defense against racist terror:

- NO PLATFORM FOR FASCISTS!
- FOR LABOR/BLACK DEFENSE AGAINST FASCIST TERROR!

Partisan Defense Committee Motion to the 19-21 November Conference of the NSCAR

The defense of victims of capitalist repression must be grounded in a strategy which pits the power of the whole of the working people against the state and which places no confidence in the racist courts, police and armed fist of the bourgeois state. This defense strategy provides no defense for right-wing fascist action groups—the enemies of those we defend. This defense is anti-sectarian in principle and practice and has a strategy to engage the social power of the organized workers movement to free victims of capitalist repression.

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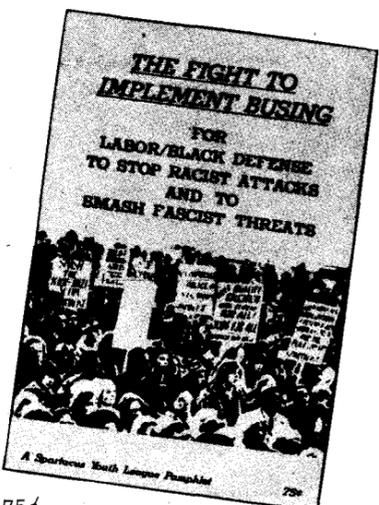
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China...

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restoration of capitalism! If one were to accept the charges against Chiang and her "gang" at face value, then the obvious question arises: why were these "criminals" not exposed years ago so that the masses could launch "class struggle" against them?

No-Line Struggle

Even if the clashes in Fukien have involved supporters of the "gang of four," the conflict there no more represents so-called "class struggle" against alleged "capitalist roaders" than did the purge of Chiang-Chang-Wang-Yao under the auspices of Chairman Hua Kuo-feng. Unless one is prepared to swallow the improbable and often unbelievable accusations against Chiang and her cronies, the purge and subsequent campaign against the "gang of four" is comprehensible only as a subterranean power struggle between bureaucratic groupings which are not based on fundamentally counterposed political programs.

First of all, the "gang of four" does not represent a faction—that is, a coherent intra-party grouping committed to a definite political program—but rather a clique. Chiang, Chang, Wang and Yao all rose to the summits of power during the Cultural Revolution solely through their "more-Maoist-than-Mao" sycophancy and personal connections with the Chairman. Wang Hung-wen was promoted so rapidly that he earned the nickname "the helicopter" from rival veteran party cadre; Chiang Ching, the wife of Mao, headed his "kitchen cabinet"; Yao Wen-yuan happens to be the son-in-law of Mao.

An important reason why the purge of the "gang of four" could be executed so effortlessly and swiftly by an obscure new Chairman was that Chiang, Chang, Wang and Yao had not risen within the bureaucracy as the organic leaders of a significant political tendency. Hated by many for their role in humiliating and abusing veteran party cadres during the Cultural Revolution, and generally regarded as political incompetents, the Chiang clique thus presented an easy target after the death of Mao left them isolated in the bureaucracy.

Moreover, although portraying the present campaign against the Chiang clique as "two-line struggle," none of the Stalinist leaders backing Hua Kuo-feng have accused the "gang of four" or their alleged followers of waging a political struggle to implement a specific program or policies (although political differences undoubtedly do exist, albeit deformed by the framework of Stalinist rule). Far from representing "radical" or "moderate" policies, both the Chiang clique and the bureaucratic old guard

associated with Teng Hsiao-ping have not fundamentally differed on most important issues.

In 1968, when the Red Guards were all ordered disbanded by Mao, none of the so-called "radicals" protested, even though they had promoted themselves in the regime by manipulating radical youth who mistakenly believed that Mao was genuinely waging an anti-bureaucratic and egalitarian campaign. These "radical" leaders were prepared to see their youth following suppressed, so long as they could maintain their positions of power.

Likewise, during the summer of 1975, when strikes brought production to a standstill in the textile industry of Hangchow, both the "radicals" and the "moderates" in the top leadership of the party opposed this mass workers rebellion. Wang Hung-wen was the first to be rushed into Hangchow, where he attempted to lead a back-to-work movement. When the workers failed to respond, the "moderate" Teng arrived to direct the military suppression of the strike.

Even more glaring is the complete unanimity between "radicals" and "moderates" on pursuing anti-revolutionary "detente" with U.S. imperialism and maneuvering internationally against so-called "Soviet social-imperialism." As the "anti-rightist campaign" against Teng revealed, the Chiang clique exercised considerable control over the national media. Yet at no time have any of the prominent "radical" Stalinist leaders even hinted differences over foreign policy—from the bloc with U.S./South African imperialism in Angola to all-out support for NATO. In the Chinese press the criminal line that the USSR is "capitalist" and even "social-fascist" persists unabated, even though the "moderates" are in command.

For Soviet Democracy Through Workers Political Revolution!

The continuing campaign against the "gang of four" does not signal any fundamental change in the policies of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy, just as the "rehabilitation" of legions of "capitalist roaders" who had been purged during the Cultural Revolution did not fundamentally change Maoist policies over the past several years. Indeed, there are no insurmountable obstacles today for the return to power of the twice-dumped Teng Hsiao-ping. On the contrary, Teng still retains his membership in the party, has not been jailed, and no longer is being attacked by the Peking bureaucracy as a "capitalist roader" (all unlike the "gang of four"). It is not insignificant that one of the often recurring charges against the Chiang clique is that they "falsely accused" and "removed from office" too many "leading comrades."

the Communist Party (which passed the "bi-partisan" Senate unanimously). One by one, the liberals who the Stalinists had been cultivating for years as allies for the popular front began to drop away and turn against them.

We are grateful for the production of *The Front* insofar as it portrays the persecution of communists and the courageous refusal of a few to cooperate. *The Front* leaves one angry at the right people for the right reasons. But as revolutionaries, we recognize that anti-communist victimizations are directed above all at the organized workers movement. They are a weapon in the arsenal of the bourgeoisie by which it seeks to maintain its oppressive and exploitative rule. Popular front illusions only postpone the day when the workers of the world will sweep away the capitalist class and put a final end to its murderous repression. ■

At the same time, the campaign against the "gang of four" and the seeming broad support for Hua Kuo-feng within the Chinese bureaucracy do not mean the end of intra-bureaucratic conflicts in China—as the clashes in Fukien have demonstrated. As long as China is misruled by a usurping Stalinist bureaucracy based on collectivist property forms but excluding the masses from political power, there inevitably will be recurrent crises and social conflicts in China.

Above all, the Maoist bureaucracy can not escape the contradiction between its aspirations for great power status and the economic backwardness of Chinese society; the necessity to seek a utopian "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism while goading the workers to stimulate production will engender crises and conflicts which, given the absence of worker's democracy, will continue to find expression in the form of intra-bureaucratic intrigues, back-stabbing and power-grabbing.

Until imperialism is decisively defeated through the victory of the proletarian revolution internationally, capitalist restoration will remain a threat for China, the USSR and the other deformed workers states. But the greatest obstacles to the defense of the revolutionary gains of these collectivist states and to the international extension of the revolution are the usurping Stalinist bureaucracies. These parasitic castes are hostile to any proletarian struggles which threaten their "detente" with imperialism and their monopoly of political power within the degenerated/deformed workers states.

To justify the reactionary Sino-Soviet split and to rationalize its own inter-bureaucratic power fights, the Peking regime preaches that the "main danger" to the Chinese revolution are the "Soviet social-imperialists" and the "capitalist roaders within the party" who allegedly could restore capitalism through "practicing revisionism." To be sure, there are capitalist restorationist elements within all the Stalinist bureaucracies, which are engendered by the privileges of the bureaucracy and its quest for an accommodation with imperialism. But to replace the dictatorship of one class by the dictatorship of another requires the smashing of the existing state and a civil war. The "peaceful road to socialism" and the "peaceful restoration of capitalism" are myths which the Maoist bureaucracy promotes to preserve its own counterrevolutionary political stranglehold over the masses.

Unlike the Maoists, Trotskyists stand for the unconditional defense of all the bureaucratically degenerated/deformed workers states against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. At the same time, we call for proletarian political revolutions in all these states to oust the counterrevolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy, establishing soviet democracy and revolutionary internationalism. Central to our proletarian internationalist perspective is the formation of Trotskyist parties in all the degenerated/deformed workers states, part of the struggle to reforge the Fourth International. ■

Angola...

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emancipation from foreign domination. Despite the presence of thousands of Cuban troops and Russian advisors, Angola is developing not according to the "Cuban road" but rather the Algerian.

Unlike the July 26 Movement of Castro, a petty-bourgeois nationalist formation which consolidated a deformed workers state in Cuba after its initial accommodation with imperialism was blocked by the U.S., the MPLA has not been forced to embark on a course of expropriation of imperialist and landlord-capitalist properties to ensure its bonapartist rule. Likewise, while Castro was forced to attack his pro-imperialist right wing (the suppression of the Hubert Matos coup attempt) and to fuse with the Stalinists, Neto's MPLA has consistently lashed out at the radical left nationalists in the MPLA and ostensible communists who represent a threat to its neo-colonialist policies.

In contrast to the Stalinists and vicarious "Third World" nationalists, the SL/SYL calls for the creation of Trotskyist parties in Southern Africa to lead the struggle against the "radical" nationalist regimes, from Angola to Mozambique. As part of the fight for socialism, a Trotskyist party in Angola would struggle for democratic and class demands such as freedom for all class-struggle prisoners, the workers' right to strike and to form independent organizations for political and economic struggle, the convocation of a constituent assembly elected on the basis of universal and direct franchise, and the nationalization without compensation of all imperialist holdings in Angola.

Only the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution can guide the struggle of the toiling masses of Angola forward to the overthrow of the neo-colonial MPLA regime and the establishment of a workers and peasants government linked to the proletarian revolution of sub-Saharan Africa. ■

NSCAR...

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the responsibility to mount actions in defense of black rights in Boston.

By voting down the SYL motions, NSCAR in effect reaffirmed its criminal policy calling for the armed fist of the capitalist state to invade Boston to "protect" black people and championed the "rights" of the South Boston Marshals and the Ku Klux Klan to organize for their racist terror.

By voting down the PDC motion calling for a class-struggle defense of the victims of racist "justice," NSCAR in effect reaffirmed its civil-libertarian reliance on the bourgeois courts.

If you are for workers revolution in South Africa; if you are for a labor/black defense to implement busing, extend it to the suburbs and to fight racist attacks; if you stand for the class struggle road to black liberation: Join the SYL! ■

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CHINA AFTER MAO

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Jeremy Lyle, SYL Nat'l Cmte.

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Chicago

"The Front" ...

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ing refuge behind the moral decency of the liberals.

Unlike Florence Barrett, however, real liberals' sense of moral decency extends only as far as the political needs of the ruling class. The overwhelming need of the American ruling class at that time required the whipping up of cold-war hysteria and the destruction of communist influence in the trade unions. It was the Democrats who launched the "red scare" under Truman. It was the "drugstore liberal" Hubert Humphrey, for example, who in 1950 authored the amendment to the McCarran Act that authorized detention camps for all known communists, and who in 1954 introduced the "Communist Control Law" outlawing

Student Government Elections at Berkeley SYL Campaigns as Communist Alternative

At the Berkeley campus of the University of California the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) fielded two candidates for the November elections to the Associated Students of the University of California (ASUC). Campaigning on a full revolutionary program the SYL candidates, Dorie Riepe and Katie Welsh, offered the only socialist alternative this year to the campus-parochialist and careerist politics rife in the ASUC, which recently has become increasingly dominated by conservative student Senators.

Earlier this year the student government—presided over by a Senator who frequently attends ASUC meetings in his ROTC uniform—voted to slash funding for various leftist organizations at Berkeley and to require campus organizations to submit "membership lists" as a precondition for obtaining room space in the ASUC building. In addition, as the ASUC elections approached, the incumbent student government declared that all campaign literature would have to be approved by the ASUC before its distribution on campus. The SYL at Berkeley denounced and refused to comply with these blatantly undemocratic and anti-communist measures.

In its election statement the SYL candidates stated that the ASUC elections are usually

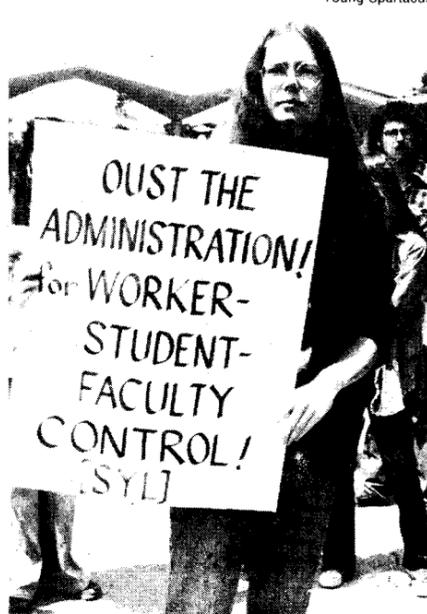
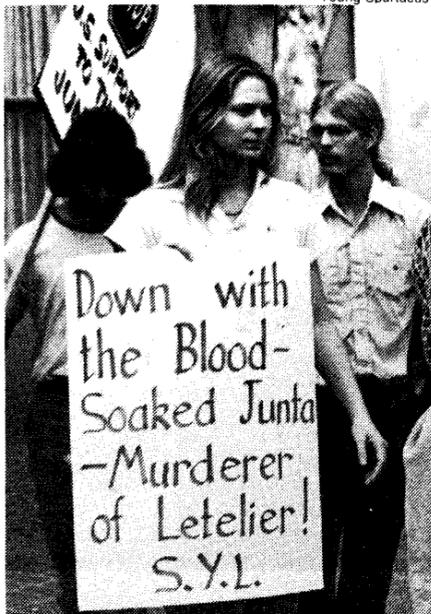
"a platform for meaningless posturing and tacit agreement among the candidates to ignore the most important questions facing students and society in general. The 'Young Spartacus' [the SYL ticket] candidates, Dorie Riepe and Katie Welsh, have no illusions that these questions can be answered inside the ASUC, a sandbox version of bourgeois parliamentary politics. The 'Young Spartacus' candidates make only one campaign promise: we are committed to the overthrow of the capitalist system through working-class revolution. We state explicitly: we are using the elections as a vehicle for advancing the struggle to win students to the side of the working class and to a Marxist world view. We are running to present the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) program for socialist revolution. If elected, we will use the student government as a platform to continue to fight for, and mobilize students around, the SYL program. A vote for the 'Young Spartacus' candidates is a vote for uncompromising working-class struggle, a vote for the program for socialist revolution."

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misgiving working-class struggle, a vote for the program for socialist revolution."

The SYL can proudly point to the prominent and often exemplary role which revolutionary Trotskyists have played at Berkeley. A decade ago the Spartacist League intervened in the Free Speech Movement and during the early years of the New Left student movement established an activist presence on campus. In more recent years the SYL, the youth section of the Spartacist League, has been in the forefront of many protest campaigns and other political actions at Berkeley.

In spring of 1975, for example, the



"Young Spartacus" candidates: Dorie Riepe (left) and Katie Welsh (right).

SYL initiated and played a leading role in building the series of protests against on-campus recruiting by the imperialist National Security Agency. Likewise, the SYL launched the anti-ROTC protests at Berkeley last year. During the near-general strike in San Francisco last spring, the SYL was the only left group at Berkeley to campaign on campus in support of the strike of city workers and to organize students to join the picket lines around the Bay Area.

The communist politics and activist orientation of the SYL contrasts sharply with the "progressive" pretensions of the ASUC Left Alliance, which stands as the only radical opponent of the SYL in an election campaign swamped with such self-indulging contenders as the super-frivolous Apathy Party, the anti-"jock" Anti-Fraternity Party and the anti-cigarette Campus Environment. While the do-little left-liberal politics of the Left Alliance haven't changed, this year its slate was different in one way. Former ASUC Senator Dorie Riepe no longer was running with the Left Alliance, but rather with the SYL. It was through working with the SYL to build the anti-ROTC united-front campaign in spring 1975 that she came to solidary with the revolutionary politics and activist orientation of the SYL.

Through its election campaigns, at Berkeley as well as next month's campaign at S.F. State, as through its other communist activities on campus, the SYL seeks to win students to solidary with the working class in its historic mission to overthrow capitalism and to dedicate their lives to the revolutionary movement. As the SYL campaign platform put it: "Don't just vote 'Young Spartacus'—Join the SYL!"

VOTE SYL!

San Francisco State University
Associated Students

ALOHA KEYLOR
For Rep. at large (Sophomore)

Lysenko...

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Stalin was an inevitable outcome of the "dogma" of dialectical materialism. This contention is false and points to one of the tragic ironies of the Lysenko affair. A number of distinguished scientists—such as Soviet geneticists I.I. Agol and S.G. Levit and Nobel laureate H.J. Muller—viewed dialectical materialism as being central to their scientific work and saw in genetics a powerful vindication of materialism. The work of these Marxists was frequently suppressed by the Stalinist bureaucracy in the USSR.

As Trotsky stated in *The Revolution Betrayed*,
"The bureaucracy superstitiously

fears whatever does not serve it directly, as well as whatever it does not understand. When it demands some connection between natural science and production, this is on a large scale right; but when it commands that scientific investigators set themselves goals only of immediate practical importance, this threatens to seal up the most precious sources of invention, including practical discoveries, for these often arise on unforeseen roads."

With its abandonment of the most elementary scientific methodology and of any recourse to objective reality in the form of experimental evidence, Lysenkoism represented a triumph of voluntarist idealism.

The Lysenkoist perversion of science and dialectical materialism have become economically significant only under the sponsorship of Stalinist bureaucratic castes. When the

working class sweeps away the Stalinist bureaucracies through proletarian political revolution, the pseudo-scientific quack commissars like Lysenko will disappear along with them. ■

Friedman...

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of the population) (*Latin America*, 18 April 1975). This means that many working-class families receiving the "minimum wage" cannot buy more than 1,000 calories and 15 grams of protein per person per day, less than half the minimum satisfactory level of consumption established by the World Health Organization (*The Nation*, 28 August 1976). The *Chicago Sun-Times* (19 October 1976) quoted one Chilean teacher: "One million

children in Chile are reportedly threatened with starvation. After two-and-a-half years of the Pinochet regime, infant mortality has risen to 63 per thousand."

The award of the Nobel Prize to Friedman is an open affront to the whole of the workers movement and to all defenders of democratic rights. On December 3 Friedman is slated to be feted again at a by-invitation-only dinner at Chicago's Conrad Hilton. In response, the SYL has called for a demonstration against Friedman that will raise the slogans: "Down with Milton Friedman—Apartheid Apologist, Pinochet's Braintruster!", "Free All Victims of Apartheid Repression and Junta Terror!", "Smash Apartheid—For Proletarian Revolution in South Africa!", and "For Workers Revolution to Crush the Chilean Junta!"

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Young Spartacus



Milton Friedman.

CHICAGO—On October 14 University of Chicago (UC) economics professor Milton Friedman was awarded the Nobel Prize for economics and \$150,000 by the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences. Friedman was cited for "his achievements in the fields of consumption analysis, monetary history and theory and for his demonstration of the complexity of stabilization policy."

For over a year the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) has been leading a campaign to expose and protest the complicity of Friedman and fellow UC economics professor Arnold Harberger with the murderous Chilean junta. The campaign began in late September 1975 at Friedman/Harberger's UC home base, and subsequent demonstrations also have been held in Madison and Berkeley. The campaign has received significant coverage in the national (and even foreign) press and has intersected a far-ranging controversy in the media and "academic community" over the role of Friedman's "Chicago Boys" as Pinochet's brain-trusters.

Demonstration Confronts "Chicago Boy"

Immediately after the Nobel "triumph" was announced, the SYL organized a demonstration at a previously-scheduled public talk by Friedman at the UC Law School (see "SYL Protests Imperialist Award to Junta Brain-truster Friedman," *Workers Vanguard*, 22 October 1976). Soon thereafter the SYL learned that on November 9 a wine-and-cheese party would be held at the UC bookstore for Friedman, who would autograph cop-

ies of his latest book, *There's No Such Thing as a Free Lunch*. The SYL responded by calling for a demonstration at the UC bookstore under the slogans, "Nobel Prize Money Can't Get the Blood Off Friedman's Hands!," "Milton Friedman is the Architect of Mass Starvation in Chile!," and "Drive Friedman Off Campus Through Protest and Exposure!" Although informed of the planned demonstration well in advance, the "ivy-league socialists" of both the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance and the New American Movement refused to demonstrate against Friedman, which is consistent with their sectar-

ian abstention from other anti-Friedman actions at UC organized on a united-front basis. The militant November 9 demonstration protested Friedman's appearance at the bookstore with chants of "Friedman lies!" and "Smash the junta and all its lackeys!" The SYL demonstrators then entered the bookstore to confront Friedman with the facts of his collaboration with Pinochet.

"While you're eating your cheese and sipping your wine, Mr. Friedman," said an SYL spokesman, "the Chilean workers are starving to death because of your so-called shock treatment." Arguments and discussions quickly broke out around the room between SYL supporters and other Friedman opponents and the assembled admirers of "Uncle Milton." When Friedman protested that the SYL's denunciation violated his civil rights, a crowd of administration officials and a campus "security" cop surrounded the SYL spokesman, accusing him of "disrupting" Friedman's celebration and unsuccessfully attempting to eject the SYL spokesman.

Unable to silence the SYL, the administration hirelings were further enraged by the arrival of additional SYL supporters with placards denouncing Friedman, which the campus cop was unable to grab away. Undeterred, the SYL spokesman continued,

"the very possibility of having a shock treatment in Chile is based on the existence of a widespread police apparatus, called DINA, which makes it possible to stop protests against Friedman and the junta. If someone in Chile were to try to talk about Milton Friedman, they'd get dragged off to a torture center and tortured,

and they'd be lucky to survive."

Friedman's "Achievement"

Despite their work for bourgeois reaction, Friedman and his followers have always represented a minority current among bourgeois economists. But under the impact of continued economic stagnation, the international bourgeoisie has become increasingly receptive to fiscal schemes calling for the slashing of state expenditures for social services. Thus, Friedman's views are markedly more popular today than ever before.

But Friedman is not simply a

Protest Junta Collaborator Friedman!

Braintruster of Chilean "Shock Treatment" Gets Imperialist Prize



SYL supporters outside UC bookstore protest Friedman.

mouthpiece for those attacking the standards of living of the working class in the U.S. and abroad. What distinguishes Friedman and Harberger is their *direct collaboration* in the formulation of the Chilean junta's murderous economic policy. For Friedman—the virulently anti-communist/labor-hating former economic advisor to Goldwater, Nixon and Ronald Reagan and apologist for the white-supremacist regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia—the Pinochet regime has afforded the first opportunity to see his theories of budget-slashing, union-busting "free enterprise" implemented. Indeed, Chile under the "shock treatment" has frequently been referred to as a "laboratory for Friedman."

Friedman/Harberger's response to the exposure of their Chile role by the SYL and others has been to either flatly deny or else attempt to minimize their complicity. Yet the case against them is based on well-documented and widely-reported facts.

Fact: Witnesses testifying before the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities in December 1975 disclosed that some of Friedman/Harberger's "Chicago Boys" received CIA money to write a 300-page economic blueprint that was given to the Chilean generals in preparation for their coup (*Business Week*, 12 January 1976).

Fact: On 21 March 1975 Friedman, accompanied by Harberger and Bra-

zilian economist Carlos Langoni, met with junta chief Augusto Pinochet. This was one of "a series of interviews with the public and private sectors" that occurred during the six-day visit (*El Mercurio* [Santiago], 23 March 1975). At this time Friedman outlined his "shock treatment" and counselled, "Don't worry about your international image any more, Mr. President. Just make sure that the international corporations find it profitable here, and nothing more" (*Ercilla* [Santiago], 2-8 April 1975).

Fact: A new cabinet including numerous "Chicago Boys" was installed by the junta to implement the "shock treatment" immediately after the departure of Friedman and Harberger (*Facts on File*, 10 May 1975). *The Chicago Maroon* (10 October 1975) carried an article entitled "UC Grads Direct Chilean Economy" which quoted Harberger on his continuing relations with his former students and friends who are presently in the junta's government (Harberger has visited Chile five times since the 1973 coup).

Fact: As a result of the "shock treatment" inflation in Chile is about 200 percent and unemployment has been conservatively estimated at 18 percent (*Business Week*, 1 November 1976).

Fact: When Friedman outlined his "shock treatment," he "willingly admitted" that it "would mean a tough period ahead for the poorer section

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